C.R. Thompson

The English Church in the Sixteenth Century

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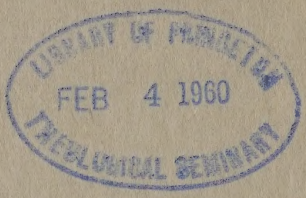

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ON TUDOR AND STUART CIVILIZATION

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

By Craig R. Thompson

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ON TUDOR AND STUART CIVILIZATION

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THE ENGLISH CHURCH
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SIXTEENTH CENTURY

By Craig R. Thompson

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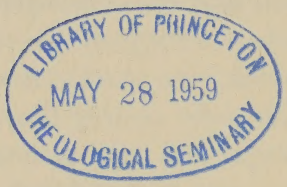

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

RELIGION, Queen Elizabeth told Parliament in 1585, is "the ground on which all other matters ought to take root." The Christian religion, for most of its adherents at least, implies a Church. As an institution, the Church in England in Tudor times was, as it had always been, the corporate expression of the spiritual life of Englishmen. In another sense it could be regarded as a department of State, subject to control by government even though administered by its own spiritual officers. In the sixteenth century, in England as elsewhere, Church and religion permeated public and private life to a degree not easily grasped by citizens of more secularized societies today.

The material in this pamphlet is selected to illustrate, by means of significant sixteenth-century books, some of the most important aspects of the English Church in its function as spiritual voice of the nation and its character as an institution intimately connected with the State. Only one book—*the* Book, the Bible—affected decisively the Church in Tudor England. The English Bible in the sixteenth century will be treated in a separate Folger pamphlet. The present pamphlet describes other books, some famous, others once famous though now no longer so, but all of them useful as a means of recalling the main events, changes, perplexities, and controversies in the life of the Church of England. Title-pages and woodcuts in the following pages are reproduced from books in the Folger collection; all but three are from first editions.

The sixteenth century was the era of the Reformation, a cardinal episode in the history of organized Christianity and one that had immense effect not only on the Church itself but on social, political, and intellectual life as well. For anyone interested in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century history, institutions, ideas, or

art, the Reformation is a central fact: a movement of ideas and experience, mainly but not exclusively religious or ecclesiastical; a dividing line between what textbooks label the "medieval" and "modern" worlds. "Worlds" in this sense do not divide so much as merge into one another. But if guideposts are to be used, certainly the Reformation is one of the more conspicuous in the history of the last five hundred years.

In every land of Western Europe the Church had an ancient and continuous history. Catholic reform in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Protestant Reformation, and the Catholic Counter Reformation were efforts to *re*-form, not to break up or revolutionize, an institution. The Protestant Reformation did prove to be in some fundamental respects a revolution nonetheless, and the cleavage then caused in the Western Church still exists. Yet the reformers did not consider themselves revolutionists at all—reformers seldom do. Henry VIII and most of the English churchmen thought of themselves as Christians who were bringing about, by peaceful means (on the whole), desirable or necessary improvements in the organization of ecclesiastical affairs. Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin believed they were restorers of Christian theology and of Church order. The Anabaptists, on the other hand, were considered anarchists by the rest of the Protestants, who felt only abhorrence for them.

Viewed in perspective, the story of the Church in England is a part of the general history of the Church, not a chronicle wholly separate and unique. Nevertheless, because the English Church had its distinctive character and traditions; because of the tension between its insularity and its recurrent susceptibility to Continental influences; because of the English Bible; because of Henry VIII, Mary Tudor, Elizabeth, Wolsey, Cromwell, Cranmer, Parker, Whitgift, Burleigh, Walsingham—and finally, because of accident—the reorganization of the English Church took forms differing from those in the lands where Lutheran or Reformed (Calvinistic and Zwinglian) conceptions and practices prevailed.

When Henry VIII came to the throne in 1509, England recognized the papal authority in spiritual matters, as it had done for nine hundred years. Before Henry died in 1547, the English Church had rejected this authority, acknowledged the King as its "Supreme Head," abolished monasticism, and changed the liturgy, all the while continuing to call itself Catholic. In the reign of his son, Edward VI, it became more evidently Protestant. Henry's elder daughter, Mary, set the clock back for a few years. His younger daughter, Elizabeth, restored the Edwardian establishment, then consolidated the position of the Anglican Church, defending it from dissenters on right and left, making further changes in liturgy and administration, but still intending this Church to be Catholic; though after 1570 a sharp distinction began to be made between "Catholic" and "Roman Catholic." Throughout all these changes and reactions, the government had sufficient support from nobility and commons to carry out its ecclesiastical policies.

This does not mean that most Englishmen could be regarded as thoroughgoing Protestants. Until 1560 or 1570 the majority may have favored the old religion. But many changed their views; many others conformed. The government had its way, if sometimes by means of repression, imprisonment, and even bloodshed. For since religion in the sixteenth century was a matter of State as well as a matter of private belief or conscience, it was closely involved with questions of political loyalty, obedience to law, and international diplomacy. This involvement seems remarkable only if we forget how much history repeats itself. Substitute "political beliefs" for "religious beliefs," and some of the deeds of sixteenth-century rulers and governments at once become more intelligible. Societies, through governments, act most drastically in the things that matter most to them. Few people in the twentieth century have been persecuted, let alone killed, for heresy in religion. But the number of persons killed to date in this century (in scientific gas chambers, it is true, instead of on the gallows) for heresy in political faith or for being "non-Aryan" far exceeds the number

legally killed in the sixteenth century for their Protestantism or Catholicism. And there are other startling parallels between sixteenth-century and twentieth-century political experience. There are the demands made by a totalitarian regime on private conscience; if the individual does not accede to the demands, he may go to the block, like Thomas More. There is "guilt by association" and the hypothetical question cunningly devised to trap a prisoner—the "bloody question," as it was called by Roman Catholics in Elizabeth's day. "What would you do," government inquisitors asked the Jesuit prisoner John Gerard in 1594, "if the Pope were to send over an army and declare that his only object was to bring the kingdom back to the Catholic allegiance? . . . Whose side would you be on then—the Pope's or the Queen's?" There is the "liquidation" of statesmen whose policy fails—Wolsey and Cromwell, for example. There is even something resembling the familiar propaganda campaign preceding a political action—Cromwell's preparations for confiscating the wealth of the monasteries and then sending his commissioners to find what he wanted them to find. Finally there is the disposition, common to Roman Catholics and Protestants alike in the sixteenth century, to justify one's own atrocities or persecutions and to protest against the horrors committed by others.

Long before the sixteenth century the English government (as Shakespeare's *King John* reminds us) had had serious difficulties with the papacy. By the sixteenth century nationalism was strong enough, and the papacy weak enough, to permit a clever and determined ruler like Henry VIII to challenge the Pope when self-interest prompted him to do so. In England, as in France and Spain, the monarchy had gradually but successfully contested the papacy's exclusive right to appoint bishops and collect ecclesiastical taxes. The Statute of Provisors (1351) prevented the popes from granting English benefices to aliens without royal approval. Another statute, Praemunire (1353), made it treasonable to carry appeals to Rome except with royal consent. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the "Babylo-

nian Captivity" of the popes at Avignon (when France controlled them), the Great Schism (during which two and at one time three men claimed to be Pope), the conciliar movement, the prevalence of simony, and the personal character of certain popes had seriously damaged papal prestige. The moral character of an Alexander VI or a Julius II was not likely to restore it. Julius was a successful warrior, but since the papacy was continually involved in political and diplomatic intrigue, rulers and people had difficulty at times in distinguishing its worldly from its spiritual activities, especially when their own interests were at stake. Pluralism, prolonged absence of some of the bishops from their dioceses on Crown business, clerical laxity, the spiritual decay of monastic and mendicant orders all contributed to an anticlericalism which Henry and Cromwell knew how to exploit when the time came to do so.

Henry prided himself on being a theologian. He was orthodox and devout. When Lutheranism first appeared, he reacted in a typical English way to a new idea: he was sincerely horrified, and wrote a pamphlet. He took steps to prevent the spread of Lutheran doctrines in England. In these actions he had the wholehearted support of bishops and other churchmen.

The Reformation in England had many causes, but unquestionably it was precipitated by the King's desire for a divorce. When refused a divorce, Henry proceeded to abolish the papal power in England and undertook to reconstitute the English Church as a Catholic but nonpapal one.

Henry convinced himself that his marriage to his elder brother's widow, Catherine of Aragon, violated Biblical law. He wanted an heir, and he was infatuated with Anne Boleyn. Cardinal Wolsey's attempts to get the divorce failed. Whatever ecclesiastical objections there may have been, politically the Pope was unable to oblige Henry at the cost of offending Catherine's nephew, the Emperor Charles V. After negotiations had dragged on for three years, the King took matters into his own hands. Through Convocation and Parliament he secured measures ending papal jurisdiction in England. Convocation,

the legislative assembly of the Church, was sometimes a willing instrument (in antipapal matters), sometimes a reluctant one (in giving Henry the title of "Supreme Head"). Parliament was more compliant. The King wanted to remain Catholic in doctrine and intended that everybody else should too. But he allowed nothing to stand in the way of his seizing control of the Church. He intimidated the bishops and killed More, Bishop Fisher, and others, both clerics and laymen, who resisted or seemed to resist the royal policy. He closed down the abbeys and monasteries and confiscated their wealth. All this he accomplished in the decade between 1530 and 1540. In 1531, Convocation acknowledged him as "Supreme Head" of the Church in England, "as far as the law of Christ allows." The Supremacy Act of 1534 omitted even this important qualifying clause. In 1532, Convocation made a formal submission, promising it would never enact new canons without royal consent. Parliament strengthened Praemunire by an act (1533) declaring that the English Church was "sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons." This was followed by other legislation to assure ecclesiastical power and revenues to the King.

The Henrician Church, administered by Archbishop Cranmer in accordance with the royal wishes, encouraged Bible-reading; the first complete Bible in English, Coverdale's, appeared in 1535. Though penance, invocation of saints, and purgatory were kept at first, "superstitious" practices connected with them were abolished. Protestant tendencies received a check at the end of the decade, however. Doctrinally the *Six Articles* of 1539, which were imposed on all Englishmen, and the *King's Book* of 1543 were reactionary—much more Catholic than some of the reformers could abide. The *Six Articles* virtually reaffirmed transubstantiation, forbade priests to marry (Archbishop Cranmer had to put away his wife for a time), permitted private Masses, and declared auricular confession to be necessary.

The Church of England, in the last eight years of Henry's reign, was thus "Catholic" in some respects, "Protestant" in

others: Catholic, for example, if one agrees with the King and his clergy that a Church without the papacy could be truly Catholic; Protestant if rejection of papacy and monasticism were characteristic of Protestantism, as they were. To most ordinary parishioners, religious life probably continued much as it had before. The monasteries were gone, and one heard less about the Pope; but one heard more English in the service and began to know the Bible better.

Since Edward VI was only nine years old when Henry died, the government was administered by a Council of Regency, dominated at first by the Duke of Somerset, later by the Duke of Northumberland. In general, the seven years' reign was a period of clarification and advancement for Protestantism in England. The two most conservative bishops, Gardiner and Bonner, were imprisoned. A *Book of Homilies* was issued (1547). In the same year royal injunctions ordered the removal of images leading to superstition and the abolition of shrines. Parliament repealed the *Six Articles*, abolished chantries, and ordered that the laity should be given the wine as well as the bread in Communion. Archbishop Cranmer prepared an English service book to replace the Roman ones. This, the first edition of the *Prayer Book*, was published in 1549. It was accompanied by an Act of Uniformity enjoining all clergy to use this book under penalty of imprisonment. The second Act of Uniformity (1552) required use of a revised edition, more Protestant than the one of 1549. This *Book of Common Prayer* of 1552 became the standard text.

By this and other legislation the Church of England became, by 1553, much more Protestant in doctrine and practice than it had been in the latter years of Henry VIII. But when Mary Tudor, a devout Catholic, succeeded Edward in 1553, she tried to sweep away the Henrician and Edwardian innovations and restore the Church and the country to their ancient spiritual allegiance. The old bishops returned; Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were arrested and, two years later, executed. Parliament, submissive to the wishes of the Crown (it referred in 1554 to

the mission of the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Pole, as one "to call us home again into the right way from whence we have all this long while wandered and strayed abroad"), promptly repealed the legislation of the Edwardian reign. Married priests were removed; the Roman liturgy was restored. An Act of Repeal of 1554 canceled all ecclesiastical laws passed since 1528, with one significant exception—that dissolving the monasteries. Thus the Pope was to resume jurisdiction over the English Church, but the laymen who had profited from the sale or gift of monastic properties were to keep what they had gained. Some of the most zealous Protestant divines fled the country. These "Marian exiles" went to Germany or Switzerland, where they absorbed the doctrines and practices of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Zwinglians—a matter of some consequence to the English Church, for when the exiles returned after Mary's death they set to work to bring Anglican doctrine, worship, and polity into line with the Continental models they knew. They were influential, yet less influential, and of course less numerous, than their brethren who had remained in England and risked persecution.

Mary's reign was memorable in English church history not so much because of her reactionary policies as because of the persecutions used to enforce them. Between 273 and 300 persons—the exact number is disputed—were burned in less than five years. About as many Englishmen died for their faith in Mary's short reign as in the forty-five years of Elizabeth's. Nevertheless Mary's life ended in frustration and failure (1558). The English had resented her marriage to Philip of Spain; she was childless; the Pope was hostile, for political reasons; moreover, despite all the legislation and all the burnings, Catholicism was not secure enough. Worst of all, her half-sister, Elizabeth, was not known to share her devotion to the old faith.

Elizabeth, in fact, was not a person of profoundly religious temperament. She held sincere convictions and expressed some decided opinions on spiritual topics, but these did not dictate political and diplomatic policy. Policy came first. This had to be

so, because of the urgency of making the country strong and keeping it strong. Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy is more understandable if we bear in mind the necessity, in the earlier years of her reign, of avoiding war with France, of playing off France against Spain, and of resolving the problem of Scotland. To preserve and strengthen England, the Queen was prepared to adopt whatever ecclesiastical policy seemed most advantageous, to change it when necessary, and to compel uniformity. Her shrewdness, courage, patience, cajolery, and luck gave her opportunities never enjoyed by Mary Tudor. Elizabeth understood her people better, too, and was well served by her ministers. Her policy required, and resulted in, a Church firmly under Crown control, Catholic in doctrine (by Anglican definition, at any rate) but nonpapal. Such a Church must be a compromise, broad enough to have room for those who had been orthodox before Henry's legislation as well as for those who were enthusiastic reformers.

The legal principles of this Elizabethan Church were set forth by two acts of Parliament in 1559. The first, the Act of Supremacy, restored to the Crown the "rights" asserted by Henry VIII but surrendered by Mary Tudor. (Elizabeth was not above appropriating Church revenues.) It repealed Marian legislation and revived the Henrician statutes against the papacy. "All usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal" was to be "clearly extinguished"; any "foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, spiritual or temporal" was forbidden forever from exercising any jurisdiction in the realm of England. Authority over Church affairs was vested in the Crown. Henry's title of "Supreme Head" was not used by Elizabeth, however; instead she was called "Supreme Governor . . . as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal." (In certain *Injunctions*, also of 1559, the Queen assured the clergy that she would never "challenge authority and power of ministry of divine service," that is, would not attempt to exercise strictly spiritual offices.) Consent of Convocation was required before the Crown's commissioners could

act in doubtful cases of heresy. All clergy were required by the act to take an "Oath of Supremacy."

The second act of 1559, the Act of Uniformity, restored the *Book of Common Prayer* of 1552 and made the use of it compulsory. Refusal to attend church was made punishable by fine.

Jealous of her prerogatives, the Queen did not often welcome Parliamentary interference in ecclesiastical affairs, though Parliament was usually more than ready to assert its own prerogatives. From time to time Convocation legislated for the Church, but its decisions had to receive royal assent before they became law. A Court of High Commission, appointed by the Crown, had responsibility for maintaining the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, and broad powers to enforce ecclesiastical law. Much depended on the subservience or cooperation of the bishops. Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, had died on the same day as Queen Mary. Bishops surviving from Mary's reign were deprived, some imprisoned, for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy. Some of the men appointed to take their places were returned exiles, Calvinistic in theology. The Church was particularly fortunate in its new Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, a patient, moderate, charitable, and scholarly man.

The English Church of Elizabethan times was an institution of ancient traditions but reformed by successive royal programs; Catholic in doctrine, it insisted, but patently Protestant if some of the *Thirty-Nine Articles* are interpreted strictly; Protestant too in its opposition to the papacy and in many changes made in the liturgy since 1547. It was a national Church which, although administered by prelates, was controlled ultimately by government. It demanded uniformity yet sought to be comprehensive. Indeed this was a practical necessity, for when Elizabeth became Queen many of her loyal subjects—how many we do not know, but possibly a majority—adhered to the old religion. Many of these apparently became Anglican, or at least conformed, as the reign advanced; but again we have no reliable statistics to guide us.

Throughout Elizabeth's reign the Anglican Establishment was the object of abuse, and sometimes—as the government and many subjects thought—of plots from two sources, Roman Catholics without and the Puritan faction within. The government dealt severely with these critics when it believed they acted seditiously or treasonably. Every sixteenth-century government made the distinction between "loyal opposition" and sedition a narrow one. Significantly, "loyal opposition" is a nineteenth-century phrase. Tudor government was strongly centralized; Tudor monarchs, like their Continental brethren, sought and kept as much power as possible. To understand the passions and persecutions caused by religious differences in the sixteenth century, we must abandon comfortable nineteenth- or twentieth-century assumptions about toleration; as has already been suggested, the present century is rediscovering how unreliable assumptions about toleration can be. Toleration was a lesson Europe scarcely began to learn before the seventeenth century. Every Church assumed that uniformity was necessary and that nonconformists should be disciplined. All of the larger Churches, by themselves or through government, persecuted at various times. Henry VIII killed Lutherans as well as Carthusians. The Marian government killed Protestants. Elizabeth's government killed some Puritans as well as Roman Catholics. Nearly everybody agreed on killing Anabaptists. The excuse, however dressed up, was always political necessity. Sixteenth-century governments did not believe in allowing an individual to choose his religion freely; such license, they thought, would be certain to produce political disunity and thus imperil the authority of the State.

Elizabeth's government, to its credit, recognized a distinction between heresy-hunting and protecting the State against subversion. It professed a disinclination to harry any subject because of what he thought. But it put the claim of protection very high, and (again like all governments) when convinced that its security was endangered by the prevalence of spies or when goaded by what it considered intolerable extremists, it acted

decisively. The times were troublesome. For more than thirty years of Elizabeth's reign, war, the possibility of war, and threats of foreign invasion kept the government in a state of constant alarm. It was not disposed to take chances.

For a time, Roman Catholic laymen were left alone, provided they were above suspicion politically. The clergy were far less fortunate. Before 1570, some had been deprived and imprisoned, but actual persecution did not begin until after that date. The persecution was due to the papal bull, *Regnans in Excelsis* (1570), which excommunicated the Queen and—far worse—absolved her subjects from their allegiance. This decree placed loyal English subjects who were Roman Catholics in the impossible position, if arrested, of having to disobey their temporal or their spiritual sovereign; and some of them suffered cruelly. The bull, the recent (1569) rebellion in the North, and the presence of Mary Queen of Scots in England convinced Parliament that new measures against Roman Catholics were needed. It passed two acts against them in 1571. One made it treason to attempt to deprive the Queen of her title (as the papal bull presumed to do); the other forbade the importation or publication of bulls and made treasonable any attempt to absolve the Queen's subjects from their allegiance. These laws, and later ones supplementing them, were inspired not only by the papal bull and the problem of the Queen of Scots but by the wars of religion in France and the Netherlands and by the threat of Spain. In 1579 or 1580, Jesuit missionaries (following other priests) began to infiltrate England. Their presence led an indignant Parliament to pass a bill (1581) making treasonable the attempt to convert anyone to Roman Catholicism with intent to "withdraw any of the Queen's Majesty's subjects from their natural obedience to her Majesty." To say or hear Mass was made punishable by fine. By a law of 1585, all Jesuits were to be banished and were liable to execution if caught. The English government's fear that Elizabeth might be murdered by partisans of Mary of Scotland—another Protestant monarch, William of Orange, was murdered in 1584—cost Mary her life

in 1585. An act of 1593 forbade Catholic recusants to travel more than five miles from home.

Puritanism, on the other hand, was at first more of a nuisance than a danger, for in Elizabeth's reign all but a few Puritans were members of the Church, not Separatists. That separation from the Church of England was the only logical course did not become clear to most until after their long campaign to reform the Church of England had failed.

Puritanism is notoriously hard to define. It has been called a form of idealism. It was at once a state of mind, a program, and a movement within the Church of England. The typical Puritans were Calvinists in theology. They were stern moralists, hated "popery," wanted presbyterian instead of episcopal governance in the Church, and insisted on reducing ceremonialism and liturgy in worship. There were many varieties of Puritanism. It had sympathizers in all ranks of society. It was an ecclesiastical movement, not a social one. The Puritan did not begin with a social theory or a political program. He began with Scripture. Worship, polity, order in the Church were always and in all things to be conformable to Biblical precept and example. Some of the earliest and ablest Puritans had been Marian exiles. Of these, some were for an uncompromising Genevan reform of the English Church; others were more conservative. The former continued to be very responsive to Continental precedent and doctrine and kept in close touch with Continental Protestants.

In 1563 a proposal was made to Convocation to abolish certain practices tending to "superstition": the priest's praying with his face turned from the people; his making the sign of the Cross in baptism; communicants' kneeling. A surplice was to be sufficient vestment. This proposal, which lost by a single vote, resulted in a long and loud debate over vestments. Some clergy resigned; others changed the service to suit themselves. They had dedicated and at times fanatical leaders, never averse to plain speech and incorrigibly obstinate. One of these leaders, Edward Dering, could write to Burleigh in 1573: "The lordship

or civil government of bishops is utterly unlawful. . . . Is it not the same that springeth out of the pope's breast? What else are officials, commissaries, chancellors, archdeacons, etc., which rule and govern by the common laws? Much worse than the statutes of Omri, and all the ordinances of the house of Achab: which uphold in the midst of us a court of Faculties, a place much worse than Sodom and Gomorrah." The famous *First Admonition to the Parliament* (1572) referred to the *Book of Common Prayer* as "an unperfect book, culled and picked out of that popish dunghill" the Mass-book.

After 1570, Puritan propaganda became more effective, Puritan influence on Parliament more noticeable, attacks on the prelates more violent. Puritan clergy (later joined by laity) began to hold meetings of their own, "prophesyings" or "exercises" as they were called, for discussion of Scripture and prayer. The government had to take a serious view of these activities, especially after attacks on the bishops became so bold. Puritans leaned to presbyterianism, and presbyterianism carried to an extreme meant the end of episcopal authority, which in turn meant the end of the government's supremacy over the Church. Radical Puritanism, that is, began to look like subversion. Consequently the Elizabethan government took steps to repress it. The Act of Uniformity was invoked. Archbishop Grindal was ordered to stop the "exercises." Grindal, who had strong Puritan sympathies, temporized and was suspended. Convocation accomplished little in combating Puritanism. By 1583, when Grindal was succeeded by Whitgift, presbyterianism was becoming more prevalent among Puritans, who were much encouraged by its triumphs in Scotland. They found Whitgift a far more severe and resourceful opponent than Grindal. But they were helped, and he hindered, by Puritan sympathies (for political as well as other reasons) in the House of Commons and among some of the Queen's ministers. Elizabeth herself was always hostile, recognizing as she did the implications of Puritanism, at least of presbyterianism, for the royal supremacy. For many years she had to resist Puritanism without much help from Parliament. After

the middle 1580's, though, Puritan propaganda, for example in the Marprelate tracts of 1588-89, became more violent than ever. Finally Parliament passed an act in 1593 against the "wicked and dangerous practices of sectaries and disloyal persons," forbidding attendance at "unlawful assemblies, conventicles, or meetings under pretence of any exercise of religion" on pain of imprisonment, banishment, and even death. A few Separatists were hanged for sedition; some left the country.

Recusancy continued to plague the authorities, but the Church had become too strong to be captured by either rival, Roman Catholics or Puritans. By the last decade of the century, the Establishment could defend itself—and, through Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, it did—as a national Church, both Catholic and Protestant, holding the middle ground. It owed much to the Queen's resistance to attacks by partisans of Rome and Geneva. Not deeply religious—certainly not by comparison with Mary Tudor or Philip of Spain—she was determined to uphold the royal supremacy. She was not greatly interested in theological debates. "I see many over-bold with God Almighty," she said, "making too many subtle scannings of his blessed will, as lawyers do with human testaments." Her motives were first of all political, not spiritual. Church and State were closely joined in Tudor England, and in the final analysis, whatever theologians thought or said, political power controlled ecclesiastical. The Church symbolized the spiritual life of the Queen's subjects, but as a religious establishment was protected by the government. Events were to prove, however, that the problems inherent in the Church's relation to the State had not really been solved. The apparent stability achieved by the end of the reign was a lull before new storms that were to rage for years, divide the country, and cost a king his life before they ended.

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Of the many studies of Puritanism, two of the most useful are M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism* (Chicago, 1939), and William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1938 ff).

Histories of Tudor England and biographies of its leading figures are too numerous to be listed here, but a few of the best books in these genres may be mentioned: G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England* (London, 1926 ff.), bk. III; S. T. Bindoff,

Tudor England (London, 1950)—both available in inexpensive paperback editions; A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth* (London, 1950), an opinionated but provocative work; G. R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1955); A. F. Pollard, *Henry VIII* (London, 1902 ff.), *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation* (London, 1904, 1926); J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1934; reprinted in a cheap edition, New York, 1957), *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments* (London, 1953–57); R. W. Chambers, *Thomas More* (London, 1935); Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (Oxford, 1925), *The Tudors* (New York, 1936), *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1955).

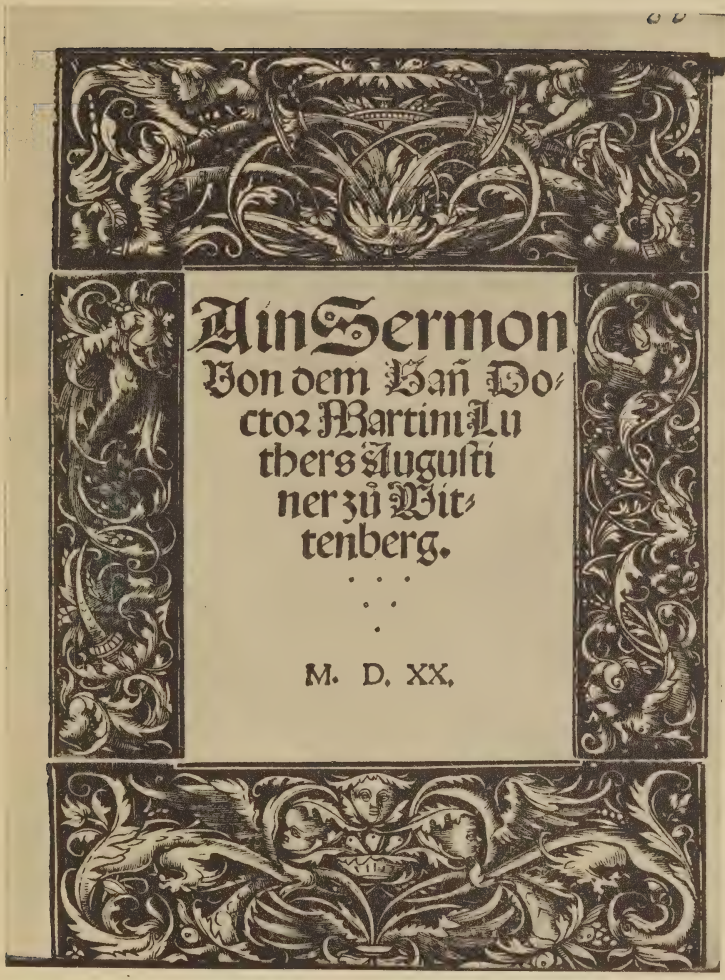
The *Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period, 1485–1603,* ed. Conyers Read (Oxford, 1933; a new edition is in the press) is the best guide to writings on the period. *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1916), a collection of essays on many important aspects of Tudor life, should be read by anyone who wants a good introduction to the Elizabethan age. H. F. M. Prescott's fine historical novel, *Man on a Donkey* (London, 1952), about the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536–37, a rebellion against Henry VIII, succeeds better than do many works of erudition in capturing the mind and spirit of the earlier period.

PLATES

Martin Luther, *Ain Sermon von dem Bann,* 1520

The Church in England, as in so many lands, was deeply affected by the controversies that broke out over Luther in Germany. Although the Reformation cannot be dated within precise limits, any more than can most large, complex movements of ideas, 1517 was the year in which its indisputable leader, Luther, first came into public notice. On All Saints' Eve he posted his Ninety-Five Theses on the doors of the Castle Church in Wittenberg. Some of the theses had startling implications about the theory of indulgences, and therefore about the authority of the Church. In the next three years Luther went on to raise more direct and more portentous questions about the sacraments and papal authority; the subject of indulgences receded to a place of minor importance. But indulgences were the reason for his first public criticism of the Roman system.

Ain Sermon von dem Bann, 1520, is a revision and elaboration of an earlier discourse, *Sermo de Virtute Excommunicationis,* 1518. In *Ain Sermon,* Luther denies that bans, excommunications, and the like can bring about a true separation between God and man; they can merely separate, he argues, from the earthly, external fellowship of the Church. To Luther these were no mere theoretical topics, for he himself had long been expecting excommunication. A few months after *Ain Sermon* came from the press, Pope Leo X denounced him in the bull *Exsurge Domine,* threatening excommunication if he did not recant within sixty days. Luther replied by burning the bull, along with the canon law, at Wittenberg, December 10, 1520. He was then excommunicated by a new bull, *Decet Romanum Pontificem,* January 3, 1521.

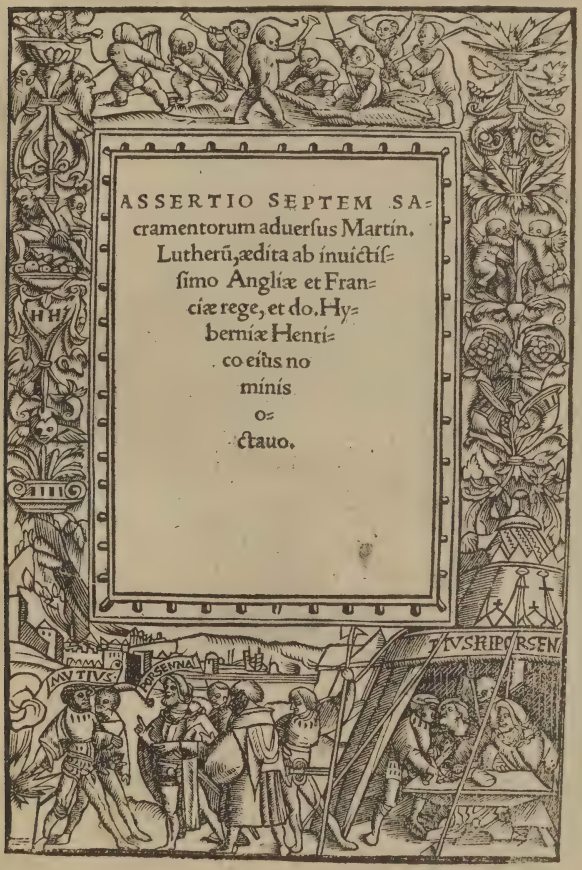

Ain Sermon
Von dem Ban Doc-
tor Martin Lu
thers Augusti
ner zu Wit-
tenberg.
M. D. XX.

King Henry VIII, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum,* 1521

To the historian, the argument of this thin book is less important than its occasion and authorship. The book is a reply by Henry VIII to Luther's *Babylonian Captivity of the Church,* 1520, which contained a strong attack on the sacramental system of the Church. By 1521, the King and his advisers had become alarmed at the spread of Lutheran ideas and propaganda in England and were taking vigorous countermeasures. In May, 1521, Luther's books were burned in London. Their importation or sale was strictly forbidden. The King, instigated by Wolsey, prepared the *Assertio*, which was published in July, 1521. It did nothing to stem the tide of Lutheranism but gave Henry an agreeable reputation—scarcely deserved, as later events were to show—as a champion of orthodoxy. Pope Leo X praised the book and promptly conferred on its royal author the title of "Defender of the Faith."

How much assistance Henry may have had in the writing of his tract, and from whom, are questions that remain unanswered. He was learned (for a king) and genuinely interested in theology. Persistent rumor credited Erasmus with a part in the composition, but he denied this and said the King was perfectly capable of writing it himself. That the King wrote it entirely unaided is improbable.

The *Assertio* assures its readers that Luther is "a wolf of hell" and "a limb of Satan." Luther retorted with a pamphlet (July, 1522) ridiculing Henry's arguments. A few years later, on hearing that England was receptive to the Reformation, he wrote to the King (1525) in flattering terms. Henry answered with an abusive letter, printed in 1526. (In the Folger Library is a 1528 copy of this booklet stamped with the arms of Henry and his Queen, Catherine of Aragon.) To this Luther wrote a rejoinder.


ASSERTIO SEPTEM SA=
cramentorum aduerſus Martin.
Lutherũ,ædita ab inuictiſ=
ſimo Angliæ et Fran=
ciæ rege, et do. Hy=
berniæ Henri=
co eiũs no
minis
o=
ctauo.
HH
MVTTVS
PROSERPINA
IVSHIPORSEN

William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man,* 1528

As a literary leader of the English Reformation, though he did most of his work from the Continent, Tyndale had many claims to remembrance by the Anglican Church. He popularized Lutheran and Zwinglian teaching for Englishmen; defended these and other Protestant doctrines in a famous controversy with Thomas More; and made probably the most important of all sixteenth-century English translations of the New Testament. This version, the first to be printed in English (1525, 1526), became the basis of later Tudor and Stuart versions, except the Rheims-Douai one. Tyndale did not live to complete his version of the Old Testament.

The Obedience of a Christian Man is an exposition of the obedience owed by children, servants, wives, and subjects. It contains also a defense of the vernacular Bible and a discussion of the different senses of Scripture.

Enemies of the Lutherans charged them with inciting lawlessness and rebellion. This charge Tyndale denies; on the contrary, he says, "it is the bloody doctrine of the Pope which causeth disobedience, rebellion, and insurrection." Tyndale insists on the prerogative of secular rulers: "The king is, in this world, without law; and may at his lust do right or wrong, and shall give accounts but to God only." "All men without exception are under the temporal sword." This was not new doctrine but a restatement or application of the familiar Pauline injunctions in Romans 13:1–6. Tyndale had no intention of exalting tyranny. If rulers themselves do wrong, God will punish them. But they are not answerable to men: "They may not be resisted, do they never so evil; they must be reserved unto the wrath of God." "If they command to do evil, we must then disobey, and say, 'We are otherwise commanded of God,' but not to rise against them."

Henry VIII is said to have remarked, "This is a book for me and all kings to read."

The obediẽ

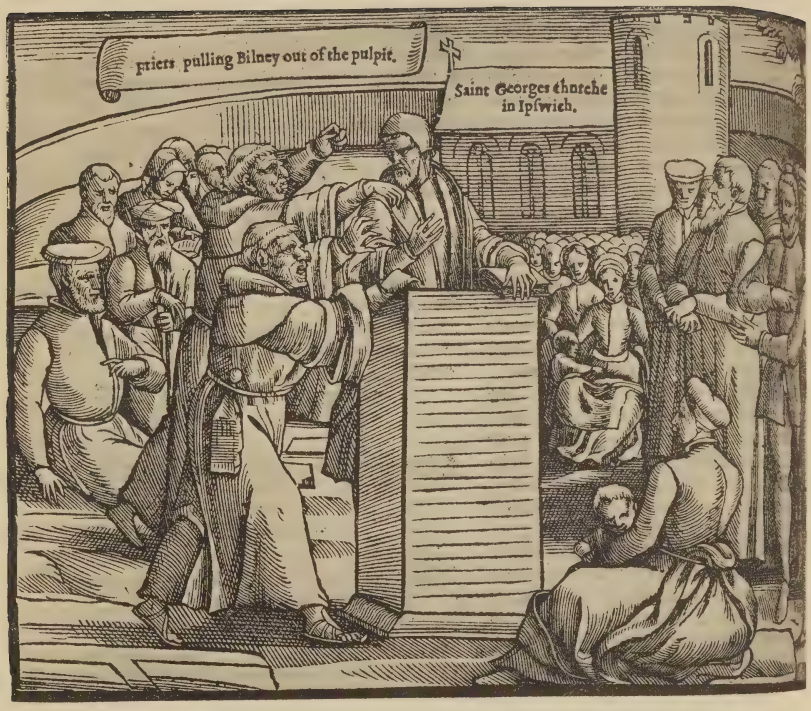
ce of a Chriſten man and how Chriſtẽ rulers ought to governe/ where in alſo (yf thou make diligently) thou ſhalt fynde eyes to perceave the crafty conveyaũce of all iugglers.

Bilney Ejected from the Pulpit

From Foxe's *Acts and Monuments,* 1563

Thomas Bilney was one of the early Cambridge group of Reformers and a martyr to his religion. He preached against images and prayers to saints, but in other respects was conservative in his views. Convicted of heresy in 1527, he abjured and was imprisoned for a year. In 1531, however, he began to preach more boldly. This time he was arrested as a relapsed heretic and executed.

The incident depicted here occurred in 1527.

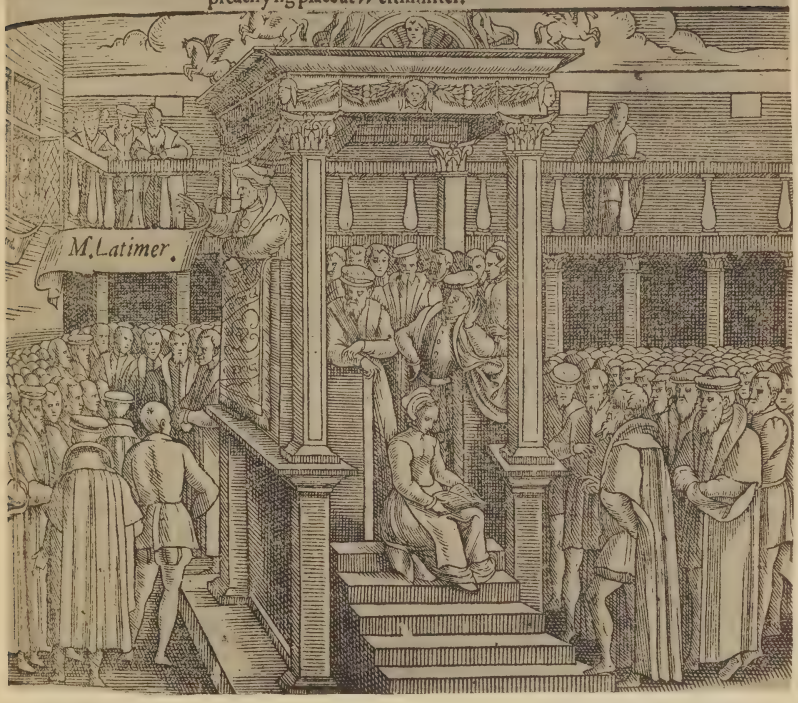

Saint Georges churche in Ipſwich.

Latimer Preaching before King Edward VI

From Foxe's *Acts and Monuments,* 1563

Latimer, like Bilney, was one of the Cambridge Reformers and, like Bilney, died a martyr. He became a court preacher in 1530, later a royal chaplain and (1535) Bishop of Worcester. He resigned in 1539. For a time he was under the royal displeasure and imprisoned. After the accession of Edward VI in 1547, he resumed preaching but not his bishopric. When Mary came to the throne, he was arrested and, with Ridley, burned at the stake in Oxford (1555). He was one of the foremost preachers of his day, but his best-remembered words are those he is said to have uttered at his execution: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

A deſcription of Maiſter Latimer, preaching before Kyng Edward the ſyxt, in the preachyng place at Weſtminſter.

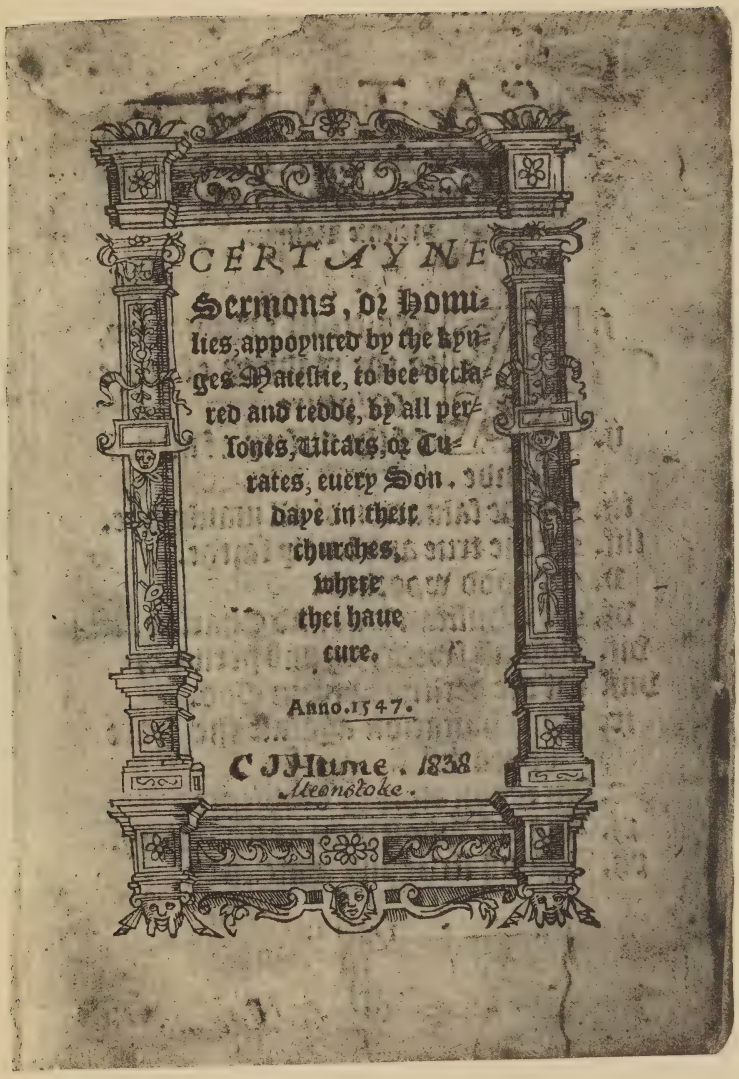


Certain Sermons or Homilies, 1547

"Public and continual preaching of God's word is the ordinary mean and instrument of the salvation of mankind," wrote Grindal, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1576, when resisting Elizabeth's demand that he discourage preaching. Emphasis on preaching was nothing new (though especially characteristic of the Puritans), nor was complaint about the lack of good preachers. Some of the clergy in Cranmer's time could do little more than read the service books. From the evidence available it is safe to infer that many of them did not, and could not, preach at all. Moreover many parishes, even at the time Grindal wrote, could not afford pastors learned enough to preach.

To provide pulpit discourse where there was none, Archbishop Cranmer edited a volume of twelve sermons, *Certain Sermons or Homilies* (1547), that became a regular part of the service in many churches. He is believed to have written four of them himself. In 1563 a new and larger collection, the *Second Tome of Homilies,* was published. This had twenty discourses, "godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times," as the *Thirty-Nine Articles* of 1563 affirmed. A significant addition to the collection was made in 1571: a sermon on rebellion, occasioned by the uprising in the North of England in 1569. This sermon was printed separately too.

The rule in Elizabethan times was that parsons were to preach (that is, preach sermons of their own making) if licensed to do so, but not otherwise; if not licensed they were expected to read the *Homilies* to the congregation. The Queen thought the *Homilies* safer than original sermons; Grindal argued that "the reading of homilies hath his commodity but is nothing comparable to the office of preaching."


CERTAYNE
Sermons, or Homi-
lies, appoynted by the kyn-
ges Maiestie, to bee decla-
red and redde, by all per-
sones, Vicars, or Cu-
rates, euery Son-
daye in their
churches,
where
thei haue
cure.
Anno. 1547.
C J Hume. 1838
Meonstoke.

The Martyrdom of Archbishop Cranmer, 1556

From Foxe's *Acts and Monuments,* 1563

Thomas Cranmer's long and troubled career as administrator of the Church of England ended in martyrdom during the persecutions in Queen Mary's reign. He had been a faithful and compliant servant of her father, Henry VIII, from the time of the divorce proceedings until the king's death in 1547. He was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1533 and promptly declared the king's union with Catherine of Aragon invalid. He encouraged the translation and circulation of the Bible; authorities ordered a copy for convenient reading to be placed in every church (1538). He supervised preparation of the *Homilies* issued in 1547 for pulpit use and had copies of Erasmus' *Paraphrases* of the New Testament placed in parish churches. His greatest literary monument is the *Book of Common Prayer* (1549; reissued 1552), part of which he wrote and the rest compiled.

Cranmer guided the Church through the uneasy times of Edward VI, but when the Roman Catholic Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, succeeded Edward, he was doomed. Imprisoned, excommunicated, and deposed from office, he repudiated some of his professed Protestant opinions. From one standpoint this action was logical enough, for he had long accepted the principle that the State may determine the national religion. But in the end conscience compelled him to reaffirm his earlier convictions and take the consequences. In a dramatic scene at St. Mary's Church, Oxford, March 21, 1556, where he was expected to repeat his recantation, he suddenly renounced his earlier action. He declared that his right hand, which had signed the recantation, should be the first to burn. He was hurried to the stake, and when the faggots were lighted he thrust his right arm into the flames.

The burning of Tharchbiſhop of Caut. D. Tho. Cranmer in the town dich at
Oxford, with his hand firſt thruſt into the fyre, wher with he ſubſcribed before.
Receaue my ſpirit.
Peter robin.

John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,* 1558

Knox, the patriarch of Scottish Presbyterianism, blew this strident blast from Geneva, where he lived for a time during the reign of Mary Tudor. He directed it against Mary and another Roman Catholic ruler, Mary of Guise, Regent of Scotland and mother of Mary Stuart, the future Queen of Scots. Knox abhorred England's tie to Spain (Mary had married Philip II) and Scotland's to France, for France and Spain were of course the leading Roman Catholic powers.

The opening lines of the preface are typical of Knox's forthright if undiplomatic manner: "Wonder it is, that amongst so many pregnant wits as the Isle of Great Britain hath produced, so many godly and zealous preachers as England did sometime nourish, and amongst so many learned and men of grave judgment, as this day by Jezebel [Queen Mary] are exiled, none is found so stout of courage, so faithful to God, nor loving to their native country, that they dare admonish the inhabitants of that Isle how abominable before God is the empire or rule of a wicked woman, yea of a traitoress and bastard." To allow any woman to rule, he declared, is "repugnant to nature, contumely to God . . . and finally it is the subversion of good order, of all equity and justice."

Elizabeth, who succeeded Mary within a year after the publication of Knox's book, was naturally indignant with such doctrine. Embarrassed by the hostility of a Protestant queen, he sent explanations, but in vain; for he refused to retreat or, as he said, to "call back any principal point or proposition."

Her displeasure notwithstanding, Elizabeth and her government aided Knox and the Protestant party in Scotland in their successful attempt to reform the Church there and in their opposition to Mary Queen of Scots.

THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRVMPET AGAINST THE MONSTRVOVS regiment of women.

✠

Veritas temporis filia.

M. D. LVIII.

John Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion,* translated by Thomas Norton, 1561

Calvinism in England is commonly, and correctly, associated with Puritanism, but the two were not identical. The Puritans were Calvinistic, both in doctrine and in their predilection for presbyterian instead of episcopal rule in the Church. But not all English Calvinists were Puritans. Many Anglicans were also Calvinistic in theology, yet they were unalterably opposed to presbyterianism, as to other features of Genevan polity. Thus, however strongly Elizabethan Puritans and prelates might differ over vestments, liturgy, and the governance of the Church, they could and often did share a Calvinistic bias in theology. Some of the *Thirty-Nine Articles* of the Anglican Church are strongly Calvinistic in tone. Many if not most of the bishops in the 1570s and 1580s—including Archbishop Whitgift, a relentless enemy of Puritanism—belonged to the Calvinistic school of theology. Calvinism appealed to English intellectuals, statesmen, even poets (Sidney and Spenser, for example); it was popular as well as dynamic doctrine.

The translator of the *Institutio,* though his name does not appear on the title-page, was Thomas Norton, a son-in-law of Cranmer. Scholar, poet, member of Parliament, and Puritan zealot, Norton had a remarkably busy career, successfully combining literary, political, and religious interests in a thoroughly Elizabethan way; they were aspects of the same activity, directed towards the same general end. In the literary history of the sixteenth century he has a minor but secure place because of his share in *Gorbuduc* (acted 1562, printed 1565), the earliest English tragedy. He wrote the first three acts.

THE INSTITVTION OF Christian Religion, vvrytten in Latine by maister Ihon Caluin, and translated into Englysh according to the authors last edition.

Seen and allowed according to the order appointed in the Quenes maiesties iniunctions.

Imprinted at London by *Reinolde Vvolfe & Richarde Harison.*
Anno. 1561.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

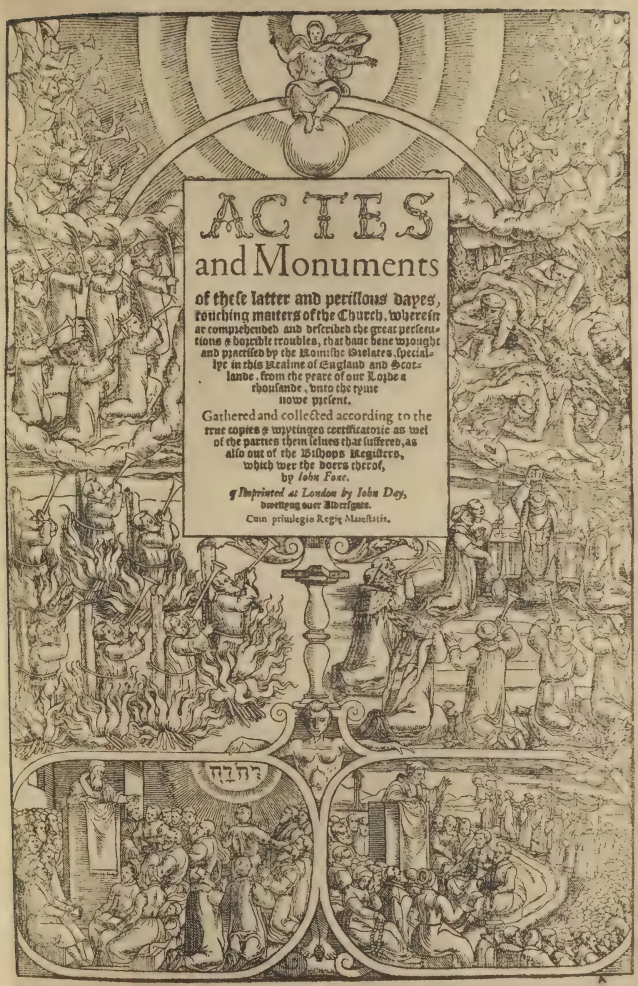
John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments,* 1563

Foxe was one of the Marian exiles. His huge book, known also as the *Book of Martyrs,* appeared first (in Latin) as a fairly small volume, published at Strassburg in 1554, next in a much expanded Latin edition published at Basel in 1559–63. The English version, a book of nearly 1800 folio pages, is best remembered for its vivid narratives and woodcut illustrations of the persecutions of Protestants during the reign of Mary Tudor, 1553–58.

The conception of history underlying Foxe's book, however limited it seems now, is one that illuminates many aspects of Elizabethan political, religious, and social life. To Foxe, history was to be read as an unceasing struggle between Christ and Antichrist. He believed that the climax of this conflict was the Reformation. And the Reformation would reach a triumphant conclusion in England first of all. It followed that "God's Englishmen" were a chosen people, with a special national destiny.

In 1571, the Convocation of Canterbury ordered that a copy of *Acts and Monuments* be placed in each cathedral church and that every archbishop, bishop, dean, canon, and archdeacon keep a copy in his house.

The illustrations on this title-page show (bottom, left) a Protestant service of preaching and prayer contrasted with (right) what Foxe and his readers thought of as "Romish" pomp and superstition; then (above, left) martyrs and (right) the celebration of the Mass; then (left) the blessed and (right) devils and the damned; at top, the Last Judgment: God the Father, with angels on each side. The kind of worship on the left, the artist implies, leads to heaven; that on the right, to hell.


ACTES
and Monuments
of these latter and perillous dayes,
touching matters of the Church, wherein
are comprehended and described the great persecu-
tions & horrible troubles, that have bene wrought
and practised by the Romishe Prelates, specially
in this Realme of England and Scot-
lande, from the yeare of our Lorde a
thousande, unto the tyme
nowe present.
Gathered and collected according to the
true copies & wrytinges certificatorie as wel
of the parties therin selves that suffered, as
also out of the Bishops Registers,
which were the doers thereof,
by Iohn Foxe.
¶ Imprinted at London by Iohn Day,
dwelling over Aldersgate.
Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.

John Jewel, *An Apology or Answer in Defence of the Church of England,* translated by Lady Anne Bacon, 1564

Jewel was an Oxford scholar who lived abroad during the Marian troubles. After Elizabeth's accession, he was appointed Bishop of Salisbury (1560) and soon began to distinguish himself as a learned and prolific writer. Like Hooker, his only rival as an apologist for Anglicanism in the Elizabethan reign, he is usually clear, logical, readable; he resembles Hooker also in preferring moderate language and avoiding the angry tone so common in theological disputes in those times.

When Jewel wrote this book, the chief criticism of the Establishment came from Roman Catholics, not (as was true when Hooker wrote) from Puritans. The Elizabethan Settlement was only a few years old, and not yet secure. It needed able defenders and propagandists. The *Apology* helped to fill that need.

Jewel summarizes the doctrines and practices of the Anglican Church, defending them on the basis of Scripture and antiquity, as also by the pragmatic test of success—for the Church, he holds, has justified itself by its achievements. He stoutly maintains the claim of the English Church to be Catholic. "But, say they, ye have been once of our fellowship, but now ye are become forsakers of your profession and have departed from us. It is true we have departed from them. . . . But yet for all this, from the primitive Church, from the Apostles, and from Christ we have not departed."

The *Apology* was first published in Latin in 1562. An anonymous English translation appeared in that year. Another translation, by Lady Anne Bacon, mother of the essayist, came out in 1564. Prefaced to it is a commendatory letter from Archbishop Parker.

An Apologie

or answere in defence of the

Churche of Englande,

with a briefe and plaine

declaration of the true

Religion professed

and vsed in

the same.

Londini, Anno Domini

M. D. LXIIII.

Pope Pius V Issuing the Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* against Queen Elizabeth, 1570

From *A Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercies,*
by George Carleton, Bishop of Chichester, fourth edition, 1630

In this famous and—for Englishmen—fateful document, the Pope excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, "a heretic and an abettor of heretics," declared her deprived of her realm, and absolved her subjects from their duty of allegiance, warning them not to obey her laws. Whoever disregarded the papal command was himself threatened with excommunication.

The bull was not published in the usual fashion and did not become known in England until several months after the Pope had signed it (February 25, 1570).

For some time the Pope had evidently hoped that France and Spain would invade England. Whatever his expectations, issuance of this bull was a political blunder which did serious damage to the papal cause in England. If taken at face value, it placed the Queen's loyal Roman Catholic subjects in an impossible position by making them, or seeming to make them, potential traitors. On the other hand, it rallied Protestants to Elizabeth's support and gave the government every excuse for taking very harsh measures against Romanists on the ground of suspected treason. Parliament replied to the bull in 1571 by passing two acts declaring that anyone who said or wrote that Elizabeth was not the lawful Queen of England, or who imported bulls, or tried to sway subjects from their allegiance should be deemed guilty of treason. Thus these acts mark the final break between England and the papacy. In 1580, Pope Gregory XIII modified *Regnans in Excelsis* by ruling that Catholics might obey the civil law (that is, obey it until the bull could be enforced), but this concession had no effect on the English government's policies.

CHAP. II.

The Rebellion of the Earles of Weſtmerland *and* Northumberland, *related diſtinctly by* Hieronymus Catena, *ſo ſtrongly plotted, ſo ſecretly carried, by the hand of God diſappointed and broken in pieces.* Leon: Dacres *his overthrow by it. This is the fruit of* Popery, *and the firſt effect of the* Popes *Bull.*

The Popes bull againſt the Queene.

THe firſt poyſoned *fruit* of this excommunication was *rotten* before it could *ripen*. There was an intention of a great and terrible Rebellion. The Duke of *Norfolke* was excited to ſtirre what Forces hee could, and to joyne with the Earles of *Weſtmerland* and *Northumberland*: at the ſame time an Ar-

D my

Edmund Campion, *Rationes Decem,* 1582

A brilliant scholar at Oxford, Campion left the university in 1569, dissatisfied with Protestantism. In 1571 he went to Douai, then to Rome, where in 1573 he became a Jesuit. He was one of the first Jesuits chosen for the mission to England. After his arrival in England, in June, 1580, he spent the next year ministering to his fellow religionists, secretly of course and often in danger of capture. Finally he was caught (July, 1581), examined—once in the presence of the Queen whom he, as university orator, had welcomed to Oxford in 1566—tortured repeatedly, and executed (December, 1581).

By 1580, when Campion returned to England, the government and public opinion (for the most part) were extremely hostile towards Jesuits and increasingly suspicious of the political loyalty of some of the English Catholic laity. Elizabeth felt confident of the loyalty of her subjects, but the government, considering the Jesuits a "fifth column," took no chances, and introduced new and more severe measures against Roman Catholics. Those convicted of treason were executed. By their defenders they have always been regarded as martyrs for their religion; the Elizabethan government regarded them, and treated them, as traitors.

Rationes Decem presents ten topics, beginning with the Bible, and gives arguments on each. The book carried a Douai imprint but was secretly printed in England. It first appeared a week before Campion's capture. Few copies of the first edition, 1581, are known. The title-page shown here is that of an edition published in the following year at Rome.

RATIONES DECEM QVIBVS FRETVS, CERTAMEN

ADVERSARIIS OBTVLIT in causa FIDEI, *Edmundus Campianus*

E Societate Nominis IESV Presbyter:
Allegatæ Ad clarissimos viros
nostrates Academicos.

PERMISSV SVPERIORVM.

Romæ, Apud Franciscum Zanettum. 1582

William Allen, *A True, Sincere, and Modest Defence of English Catholiques,* 1584

Allen, probably the most notable of English Roman Catholic writers in Elizabethan times, founded the famous English College at Douai in 1568. He wrote important works on Roman doctrines and the priesthood and in 1587 became cardinal. In the year of the Armada, 1588, he wrote an *Admonition* to Roman Catholics in England to rise against Elizabeth when the Spanish landed, and a *Declaration,* to the same end.

In 1583, the Queen's chief minister, Burleigh, wrote a tract, *The Execution of Justice in England,* defending the government's action against "certain stirrers of sedition," that is, those English Catholics (including Campion) arrested and executed for treason. Burleigh bitterly denounced the Jesuit mission to England.

In addition to denying the charge of treason, Allen's *Defence* contains a valuable statement of the Roman Church's position with regard to Elizabeth's government and to the persecution of heretics. "We can prove Queen Mary's doings to be commendable and most lawful; the other [persecution of Roman Catholics by Elizabeth's government] towards us and our brethren, to be injust and impious. . . . As no law of God or man can force us to be Protestants, no more can any reason be alleged nor just excuse made for either young or old, why being baptized or brought up amongst Arians or Calvinists, they may not be forced to return to the Catholic Church and faith again." "When the prince and prelate proceed together against such as by the sentence and law of the Church of Christ are adjudged to be heretics and injurious to God, that is justice." When prince or people rebel against their bishops, he adds, that is persecution.

Roger Twysden
1647.
a

A TRVE

SINCERE AND MODEST DEFENCE OF ENGLISH CATHOLIQVES THAT SVFFER FOR THEIR Faith both at home and abrode: against a falſe, ſeditious and ſlaunderous Libel intituled;

THE EXECVTION OF IVSTICE IN ENGLAND.

Wherin is declared, howv vniuſtlie the Proteſtants doe charge Catholiques vvith treaſon; howv vntrulie they deny their perſecution for Religion; and howv deceitfullie they ſeeke to abuſe ſtrangers about the cauſe, greatnes, and maner of their ſufferinges, vvith diuers other matters perteining to this purpoſe.

Pſal. 62.

Vt obſtruatur os loquentium iniqua.

That the mouth may be ſtopped of ſuch as ſpeake vniuſtlie.

Pſal. 49.

Os tuum abundauit malitia, & lingua tua concinnabat dolos.

Thy mouth hath abounded in malice, and thy tongue hath coninglie framed lies.

Persecution of Roman Catholics in England

From *Theatrum Crudelitatum Haereticorum Nostri Temporis,* 1592

The caption of the picture blames the persecution on "Protestant Calvinists." Whether the writer means by this phrase that the Puritans were responsible for the government's treatment of Roman Catholics, or that the English Church consisted of Calvinists, is not clear. Neither assertion would be more than half true.

The book from which this picture is taken was first published in Antwerp in 1587. It is said to have been suppressed in Paris on complaint of the English ambassador. Later it was reprinted. The author was Richard Verstegen, who was born in London of Dutch parentage. After attending Oxford he spent the rest of his life on the Continent. He wrote historical and devotional works.

Perſecutiones aduerſus Catholicos à Proteſtantibus Caluiniſtis excitæ in Anglia.

A Book of Certain Canons, 1571

This canonical legislation, passed by Convocation in 1571, prescribed duties of bishops, deans, churchwardens, and other officials, including schoolmasters. It gives us valuable information about the discipline and standards of the Anglican Church in the first half of Elizabeth's reign. The Queen approved the *Canons,* yet withheld royal assent. They did not have the force of statutory law, therefore, although they became part of ecclesiastical law.

The *Canons* forbid bishops to ordain any men except those who "have been trained up in good letters, either in the university, or some other inferior school, or that doth understand the Latin tongue competently, and hath been well exercised in the Holy Scriptures." An ordinand must be of unblemished reputation and must not be "any that hath been brought up in husbandry, or some other base and handicraft labour."

Parsons are to report yearly to bishops' officers the names of all parishioners over fourteen years of age who do not go to Holy Communion (as by law they were compelled to do). Moreover parsons must see that decorum is kept at divine service and "take heed that young men, especially countrymen (whose nature is more prone to the contempt of godliness and disorder) neither ring bells, neither walk in the churches, nor have idle talk together, nor by laughing or noise or unhonest jesting either let [hinder] the minister or offend the people."

Among the many duties of churchwardens are those of warning tavernkeepers not to allow anyone in their taverns during the hours of divine service, and of preventing peddlers "which carry about and sell pins, points, and other small trifles" from offering their wares in churchyards on Sundays or holidays.

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A BOOKE

of certaine Canons,

concernyng some parte of the discipline of the Churche of England.

In the yeare of our Lord.

1571.

AT LONDON
Printed by Iohn Daye, dwellyng ouer Aldersgate.

¶ *Cum gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis.*

John Whitgift, *An Answer to a Certain Libel Entitled "An Admonition to the Parliament,"* 1572

Whitgift's *Answer* is an important document in the early history of controversy between Puritans and prelates in the Church of England. For nearly a decade the Church had been agitated by controversy growing out of a debate over clerical vestments. A new stage in the quarrel was reached with the publication in 1572 of *An Admonition to the Parliament* by John Field and Thomas Wilcox. The authors roundly denounced the shortcomings of the Anglican clergy, rejected rites and vestments which (according to them) were unauthorized by Scripture, and called on Parliament to reform the Church of England on Calvinistic lines. After a second *Admonition* had appeared, Whitgift, then Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, replied for the episcopalians in this *Answer.* Not surprisingly, the *Answer* provoked a strong retort from Thomas Cartwright, a sharp-tongued Puritan leader whose feelings towards Whitgift were not made milder by the fact that Whitgift, as Master of Trinity, had deprived him of his fellowship there a few years earlier. The Whitgift-Cartwright tracts were part of a pamphlet warfare over Puritanism that lasted many years. Puritanism had become an issue for Parliament as well as for Convocation.

Whitgift was a Calvinist in theology but detested Puritanism. In this *Answer* he charged that his Puritan opponent's "unfruitful, froward, and contentious dealing rejoiceth the papist, discrediteth the sound and learned preacher, offendeth the godly, woundeth the weak, invoketh the contempt of magistrates and superiors in the hearts of the hearers, destroyeth that which other men build, and finally doth good to none."

Whitgift went on to become Archbishop of Canterbury (1583–1604). A stern disciplinarian and an unwearied opponent of nonconformists, he was the ablest ecclesiastical statesman produced by the Elizabethan Church.

¶ An answere to a certen Libell intituled,

An admonition to the Parliament,

By IOHN WHITGIFTE, D. of Diuinitie.

1. COR. 8. 2.

If any man thinke that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to knowe.

1. COR. 11. 16.

If any man be contentious, we haue no such custome, neyther the Churches of God.

GALA. 5. 26.

Let vs not be desirous of vayne glory, prouoking one another, enuying one another.

¶ *Imprinted at London, by Henrie Bynneman, for Humfrey Toy.*
Anno. 1572.

Hay Any Work for Cooper, 1589

This is the fourth of seven Marprelate pamphlets issued from a secret press in 1588–89 during a propaganda campaign waged by certain Puritans against the hierarchy of the Established Church. The quality of these tracts as satire gives them a place in Elizabethan literature, but it was their argument as well as their manner that made them popular in their day. The anonymous author or authors were in dead earnest; they wrote against powerful enemies, most of all the Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift; and they were liable to severe punishment if caught.

In 1584 appeared a pamphlet called *A Brief and Plain Declaration* (known also as the *Learned Discourse*), attacking the Anglican bishops and arguing for presbyterian governance of the Church. This was answered by an elaborate *Defence of the Government Established in the Church of England* (1587), by John Bridges. The first Marprelate tract, the *Epistle,* was a reply to this *Defence.* It was issued in the autumn of 1588 and quickly followed by another, the *Epitome. Hay Any Work for Cooper* (the title comes from a London street cry of the day) was the fourth of the series. It replies specifically to an *Admonition to the People of England* by Bishop Cooper of Winchester (1589). Government agents finally caught the printers, and "Martin Marprelate" was heard from no more, though the controversy continued to produce pamphlets from both sides.

Anonymous, secretly printed and distributed, the Marprelate tracts caused a brief sensation. Martin was too abusive and perhaps too popular to be ignored by the bishops, too clever and too impudent to be subdued by mere solemn rejoinder. Even some of the Puritans were annoyed by his freedom of speech, which they feared would harm their cause rather than help it.

Hay any worke for Cooper?

Or a briefe Pistle directed by Waye of an hublication to the reuerende Byshopps/ counselling them/if they will needs be barrelled up/ for feare of smelling in the nostrels of her Maiestie & the State/that they would vse the aduise of reuerend Martin/for the prouiding of their Cooper. Because the reuerend T. C.(by which mistical letters/ is vnderstood/eyther the bounsing Parson of Eastmeane, or Tom Coakes his Chaplaine) to bee an vnskilfull and a beceptfull tubtrimmer.

wherein worthy Martin quits himselfe like a man I warrant you/in the modest defence of his selfe and his learned Pistles/and makes the Coopers hoopes to flye off/and the Bishops Tubs to leake out of all crye.

Penned and compiled by Martin the Metropolitane.

Printed in Europe/not farre from some of the Bounsing Priestes.

E 4 29

Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, 1593–97

This treatise is the product of a controversy between Hooker and Travers, a leading Puritan. Hooker was Master of the Temple, Travers a preacher there; we are told that "the pulpit spake pure Canterbury in the morning and Geneva in the afternoon." Books I-IV of *Ecclesiastical Polity* appeared in 1593; book V in 1597. Books VI and VIII were included in an edition of 1648, long after Hooker's death, and book VII in an edition of 1662. The authenticity of books VI-VIII has been questioned, but there is little doubt that they are by Hooker.

Addressed to Hooker's Puritan opponents, the work expounds the Church of England's polity (and doctrine, so far as elucidation of polity requires this), and defends that Church against the assaults of Puritans who wanted to make its order more presbyterian. Hooker likewise defends the Church from certain Roman Catholic attacks.

Against Puritans who insisted that Scripture was not only the principal but the sole authority for Church order, he maintains that natural law and "the light of reason" also give illumination and therefore deserve to be respected. He believed in the value of tradition if tradition is not contrary to Scripture, is seemly, and has proved beneficial to Christians.

Unlike so many sixteenth-century writings on theology or the Church, Hooker's book is charitable and patient in spirit, restrained rather than bitter or intemperate in tone. It is celebrated for style as well as for thought. The dignity, balance, and rhythms of its elaborate sentences are perfectly expressive of the temper of "the judicious Mr. Hooker" and appropriate to his great theme.

OF THE LAVVES of Eccleſiaſticall Politie.

Eyght Bookes.

By Richard Hooker.

Printed at London by *Iohn Windet*, dwelling at the ſigne of the *Croſſe keyes neere Powles Wharffe, and are there* to be ſoulde

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